

# HIROSHIMA RESEARCH NEWS

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## Hiroshima and the Peace Constitution: Building on Our Past

By Yuki Tanaka

Hiroshima Peace Institute (HPI) held an international symposium "Hiroshima and the Peace Constitution: Building on Our Past" at Hiroshima International Conference Center on July 30, 2005. The symposium is featured in the first four pages of the newsletter: the summary of the symposium (p.1) and speech summaries by four panelists (pp.2-3).

General Tomoyuki Yamashita won the sobriquet "Tiger of Malaya" due to the swift victory of his military campaign in the Malay Peninsula and Singapore's successful capture in February 1942. However, immediately after the surrender to U.S. forces in the Philippines in June 1945, Yamashita, as commander of all Japanese forces in the Philippines, was arrested as a war criminal, charged with responsibility for atrocities committed against civilians in Manila by Japanese forces under his command. He was hanged in Manila on February 23, 1946.

His last words, dictated to Buddhist prison chaplain Shokaku Morita, shortly before he was hanged, can be summarized in the following points:

1) The Japanese people's inability to make independent moral judgments was the fundamental cause of war crimes, and this led people in Asia and elsewhere to distrust Japan. The Japanese should nurture their ability to make moral judgments in order to carry out their duties.

2) The only way to defend people against nuclear weapons is to establish nations all over the world that would never contemplate the use of such weapons. Scientific knowledge should be used for peaceful purposes to free human beings from misery and poverty.

3) The driving force of peace is in the heart of women. Japanese women should utilize their newly gained freedom effectively and appropriately and give full play to their unique feminine ability in building peace.

4) It is necessary to educate Japanese youth to be able to live independently, cope with various circumstances, love peace, appreciate cooperation with others and maintain a strong will to contribute to mankind when they grow up. (Yamashita particularly emphasized the importance of motherhood in educating children.)

It is remarkable that half of his final words were addressed to women. Here we can discern Yamashita's hope that the new Japanese society would be built on the principles of women, not those of men, specifically power and violence. In hindsight it can be said that the underlying philosophy of Yamashita's last message preceded Japan's new Peace Constitution, which was promulgated eight months after his execution. In this message we also find the prototype of what Professor Carol Gluck calls the "heroic narrative," i.e., "the postwar mission for peace borne by the Japanese as the sole victims of atomic bombing."

In considering the numerous social problems that Japan is currently facing, including the "oblivion to the war memory," I believe we are urged to revitalize this prototype of the "heroic narrative" and to truly cultivate our moral judgment. In particular we must seriously contemplate how we can stimulate young people's imagination for building an "open society" based on peaceful human relationships.

An increasing number of Japanese politicians now assert that the Peace Constitution should be amended as it no longer reflects Japan's real situation. It must be noted, however, that the Constitution is not

formulated in order to reflect existing conditions of our society, but to serve as an *ideal norm* for rectifying faults and building a better society. If the reality does not mirror Article 9 of the Constitution, it is our moral responsibility as Japanese citizens to reform the reality in accordance with the letter of this article specifying that "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained," and that we "forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes."

As Professor Shoichi Koseki rightly points out, the fact that we Japanese live under this article means that we also have a special responsibility in our relationships with foreign nations. Article 9 is our pledge and the manifestation of our determination that we will never again conduct war and victimize the people of the Asia-Pacific. Yet, as Professor Koseki argues, we have not sufficiently contemplated Article 9 in the context of the relationship between our past abhorrent military conducts and the unbearable war experiences our Asian neighbors consequently endured.

It is of course appropriate to amend democratic constitution based upon the will of the nation. Yet, suggestions given by our nationalist politicians to amend the Peace Constitution have so far been advanced in conjunction with the remilitarization of Japan and expansion of Japanese military capability under the U.S. global military strategy. Indeed this is far from the will of the whole nation.

It is often said that Article 9 does not negate Japan's right to defend itself, an argument for legitimizing the possession of "Self-Defense Forces." It seems we tend to assume that "self-defense" must always utilize military forces. It is crystal-clear from our recent experience of terrorist attacks in New York, London, Egypt, and Iraq, that military forces are utterly incapable of protecting innocent citizens or building "self-defense" against terrorism. As Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy warns us, we are now even facing the grave danger of terrorist attacks using nuclear weapons.

Instead, we should contemplate the idea of "self-defense as a cultural movement." It is now urgent to establish a pacific culture, in which concern for others spontaneously emanates, thus removing hatred and antagonism between groups of people. A society based on this compassionate culture will naturally protect not just itself but also the lives and cultures of others. Building this gentle and open society will in turn lead to a veritable "self-defense." Only through this kind of cultural movement will it be possible to achieve the aim described in the preface of our Constitution "to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth."

As Professor Motofumi Asai correctly remarks, the citizens of Hiroshima bear the heavy and urgent responsibility of generating new ideas to integrate the spirit of the Peace Constitution with the voice of anti-nuclear movements. I believe that both this spirit and Hiroshima's desire for eternal peace can be summarized in one phrase: "no one must be killed; one must not kill anyone." We are living in an extremely vulnerable society where our loved ones can be annihilated in a second by a terrorist attack. Yet, U.S., British and Japanese governments are constantly trying to counterattack and defeat the terrorists with lethal weapons capable of killing large numbers of people, thus creating a vicious circle of violence and carnage.

With the world in this chaotic state, it is the time for us not simply to rekindle appreciation of the spirit of our Peace Constitution and the spirit of Hiroshima aspiring to eternal peace, but also to endeavor to utilize these in our actual peace movements. We need to consider how we, as a citizen of Hiroshima, could carry out this "moral responsibility."

Tanaka is professor at HPI

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## The Natural History of Atomic Memory: Legacies for Our Time

By Carol Gluck



Carol Gluck is professor at Columbia University, U.S. She has a Ph.D. from Columbia University and specializes in Japanese history from the late 19th century to the present.

Sixty years after the end of the conflict, war memory everywhere is now “fading” [*fūka*] in the face of political and generational change. To meet the dual challenge of transgenerational remembrance and responsibility, we need to understand how public memory operates and how war stories have changed, or not changed, over time.

**The Past** : Most war stories began as heroic narratives, tales told in stark black and white, with villains and victims clearly marked, focused on the nation and national people who were seen as victims of war, not only in Japan but in many countries. Japan’s heroic narrative included the “experience as the sole victims of atomic bombings, which gave Japanese a mission for peace in the postwar world.” Later this powerful but simple story was expanded through the efforts of activists in civil society. As a result, the human experiences of the *hibakusha* (and eventually of non-Japanese victims as well) were included in the story. And the atomic destruction of 1945 was closely tied to contemporary pacifist politics and the anti-nuclear movement. For decades, atomic memory had real impact both within Japan and around the world.

**The Present** : “Bomb consciousness” has ebbed significantly in the past several years. In the United States nuclear weapons have become just another “weapon of mass destruction,” and the original U.S. story — “the atomic bombs ended the war and saved American lives” — now justifies U.S. unilateralism and military buildup. Meanwhile Japan has seen the legacies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki fade, as the state sets out in the name of “international contribution” to project a new military profile and shift the boundaries of collective defense.

**The Future** : Effective war memory must now do three things: First, transcend the precincts of local experience. This means carrying the experience of Hiroshima and *hibakusha* to the world, not as an abstract message for peace but as the concrete human horror visited on ordinary people when nations make war. Second, broaden the frame of historical reference. This means, for example, including civilian bombings from the destruction of Dresden to the so-called collateral damage in Iraq and the land mines that continue to tear off the limbs of children around the world. Third, escape the confines of national memory. This means recounting not only one’s own experience but that of all the victims and perpetrators, all the actions and outcomes of total war.

For we must keep war in mind if we expect people to hope, and act, for peace. To maintain the resolution for “no more war” embodied in Article 9 requires more than debate over constitutional revision. It requires new policies and renewed determination to make the story of past war serve the cause of future peace. The true legacy of Hiroshima thus lies in our collective capacity to “remember the future.”



## Article 9 of Japan's Constitution: Its Historical Process and the People's Responsibility

By Shoichi Koseki



Shoichi Koseki is professor at Dokkyo University, Japan. He has a Master of Law degree from Waseda University and specializes in the history of Japan's Constitution.

Since adopting the postwar Constitution, the Japanese people have consistently opposed its revision, especially regarding Article 9, which renounces war. This opposition has been steadfast, despite the ruling party’s repeated efforts to make revision of the Constitution a policy goal. Such opposition may be attributable to “war weariness” among

the Japanese people based on painful personal experiences of World War II. In those days, most Japanese were not aware of Japan’s war responsibility and the damage inflicted on people in other countries.

Thus, the Japanese people have accepted Article 9, but considering the reasons why Article 9 was included in the Japanese Constitution, we find a gap between their support for Article 9 and the real intention behind its inclusion in the Constitution.

The Japanese Constitution was drafted under the supervision of General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. It was his opinion that proposed amendments to the existing Meiji Constitution by the Japanese government could not satisfy the allied nations. Therefore, he had General Headquarters (GHQ) draft revisions to include three principles: 1) the Emperor as figurehead, 2) the renunciation of war, and 3) the abolition of feudalism. It is thought that MacArthur’s inclusion of the renunciation of war was closely linked to his decision to retain the Emperor system, more precisely, to his desire not to bring war crime charges against the Showa Emperor.

MacArthur intended to avoid legal action against the Showa Emperor and retain the Emperor system. Therefore, he concluded that it was necessary to formally demonstrate that the Showa Emperor voluntarily led the Japanese government to revise the Japanese Constitution and renounce all war and military force. Without such a demonstration, he believed it would be quite difficult to obtain international agreement, especially among the Allies, to retain the Emperor system. Knowing that in the post-World War II era military air superiority would be paramount, MacArthur thought it necessary to establish military bases in Okinawa for Japan’s mainland security. He thus decided to separate Okinawa politically from mainland Japan.

In fact, the Japanese Constitution was an indispensable passport allowing Japan’s return to international society after World War II. Article 9 pledges to neighboring Asian peoples and to the world that Japan will never again participate in war. We have a responsibility to retain Article 9, with recognition that the militarization of Okinawa and non-militarization of mainland Japan are two sides of the same coin.

## Agenda for Hiroshima:

Addressing the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons and the Peace Constitution

By Motofumi Asai



Motofumi Asai is president of Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan. He worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1963 to 1990. He specializes in international relations.

The Pacific War proceeded in tandem with America's development of atomic weapons, which culminated in their use against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. For nearly four years, the U.S. gradually put Japan on the defensive in the Pacific War while developing atomic bombs, and did not hesitate to drop atomic bombs to snuff

out Japanese resistance.

The U.S. began its development of atomic bombs in October 1941, and the Manhattan project was in full swing by June of the next year. Japan had already been put on the defensive late that year, and the Showa Emperor had no prospect for victory from as early as September 1943. But the Emperor clung desperately to the war, hoping in vain that Japan might gain an opportunity to make peace without complete surrender after striking the enemy with a powerful blow. It was only a day before the end of the battle of Okinawa in June 1945 that he finally abandoned such hope and gave instructions to work for the end of the war.

The Potsdam Declaration was issued on July 26, 1945, soon after the successful atomic bomb test on July 16, 1945. The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki amounted to a death sentence, and Japan had no option other than an unconditional surrender. The Potsdam Declaration required Japan to disengage itself from militarism and be reborn as a democratic nation with full respect for human rights. As Japan resisted these requirements, thus frustrating the GHQ, the GHQ eventually decided to prepare a draft constitution embodying the principles of the Declaration. This is how the Peace Constitution was born. The point I am confirming here is that the Peace Constitution exists as a catastrophic result of the atomic bombings. Amid today's calls for the "revision" of the Peace Constitution, we have an urgent need to formulate persuasive new arguments for upholding the Peace Constitution, which enshrines the painful memories of the atomic bombings.

Japan's movement for the abolition of nuclear weapons had its origin in the anti-A-and H-bomb signature campaign, which spread rapidly in the wake of the Lucky Dragon Incident in 1954. Due to its overemphasis on preserving political neutrality, the movement went so far as to disconnect itself from legitimate calls for preserving the Peace Constitution. This was a grave error in light of the clear connection between the atomic bombings and the birth of the Peace Constitution, as described above.

The nuclear abolition campaign without embodiment in the Peace Constitution is doomed to lack persuasiveness internationally. If the Peace Constitution is "revised" and Japan becomes "an outright pro-war nation," the international society will be justified in not taking the Japanese seriously, including Hiroshima's appeal for nuclear abolition. In this regard, Hiroshima bears the extremely heavy responsibility of building a conceptual framework that combines the lively wisdom of the Peace Constitution with the lofty spirit of nuclear abolition.

## Is the Islamic Bomb Now Reality?

By Pervez Hoodbhoy



Pervez Hoodbhoy is professor at Quaid-e-Asam University, Pakistan. He has a Ph.D. in physics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Those who want a more peaceful world today are forced to understand and confront both a militant American imperialism and a violent Islamic radicalism. The future of nuclear weapons is also being determined by their clash, which becomes bloodier by the day.

The United States is the dominant military power in the world. With 12 battle carrier groups and hundreds of military bases spread around the world, the U.S. will spend \$455 billion on its armed forces in 2005, with another \$82 billion marked for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This is more than the total sum spent by the next 32 countries down the list, and is close to 50% of total world military spending. In George W. Bush's America, nuclear weapons have regained their salience and are now viewed as weapons for fighting wars.

On the other side of the divide, anger in Muslim countries at the United States has never been higher than today. The invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and then Iraq, the torture and abuse in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo by American interrogators, and instances of Quran desecration have added to already existing resentments. The oldest and bitterest of these is, of course, the unequivocal U.S. military, economic and political support for Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

The desire for an atomic weapon to seek vengeance — utterly immoral, foolish and suicidal though it is — is not limited to extremists. The Islamic bomb is an increasingly popular concept. However, the danger of a nuclear conflict with the United States, and the West more broadly, comes not from Muslim states, but from radicalized individuals within these states.

The clash of two fundamentalisms comes during an epoch of history when the making of atomic weapons, especially crude ones, has become vastly simpler than ever before. The physics of nuclear explosions can be readily taught to graduate students. By stealing fissile materials present in the thousands of ex-Soviet bombs marked for disassembly, or even a tiny fraction of the vast amounts of highly enriched uranium and separated plutonium present in research reactors and storage sites the world over, it is unnecessary to go through complex processes for uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing.

Today, the United States rightly lives in fear of the bomb it first brought into the world and tried to use to establish its dominance.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki were cruel demonstrations of raw power. But more generally, the growth of technology has far outstripped humanity's ability to use it wisely. Our best chance of survival lies in creating taboos against nuclear weapons, much as already exist for chemical and biological weapons, and to work rapidly toward their global elimination. To survive, the civilized world will have to subdue the twin ogres of American imperialism and Islamic radicalism.



# Unsolved Issues of Hiroshima: The Sixty-First Year and Beyond

By Kazumi Mizumoto

## A New Challenge for Atomic Bomb Survivors

On August 6, 2005, 60 years after the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, three atomic bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki visited Tinian Island, a part of the U.S. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, to participate in an Annual Peace Ceremony. At the end of World War II, the island was used as a base by the U.S. for the B-29 bombers that dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Two years ago, an organizing committee including city of Tinian representatives, began hosting the Annual Peace Ceremony to commemorate the historic bombing. This year, the committee officially invited atomic bomb survivors for the first time. From Hiroshima, two members of the "Association of the Teachers Conveying Atomic Bomb Experience," Mr. Keijiro Matsushima and Mr. Fumiaki Kajiya, attended the Ceremony.

Another ceremony on Tinian organized for U.S. veterans took place on the same day, and although the atomic bomb survivors were not invited, they had some opportunities to talk with the veterans informally. The dialogue revealed a big gap between the two groups regarding the justifiability of the atomic bombings, but both sides generally agreed that nuclear weapons should never be used again.

During their visit to Tinian, the survivors visited an airfield originally constructed by the Imperial Japanese Navy but taken by U.S. forces, ironically becoming the base from which B-29 bombers took off for their targets, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They also visited sites related to battles fought during the U.S. landing operation in July 1944. A total of 8,000 Japanese soldiers and 3,500 civilians refused to surrender and lost their lives. (The visit of atomic bomb survivors to Tinian was broadcast on NHK AM radio channel 1 on August 6, 2005; program entitled "Another Peace Ceremony: August 6th on Tinian, formerly a U.S. B-29 bomber base." For more details of the construction of the airfield and battles between Imperial Japanese Navy and U.S. forces, please refer to *Daihonei ni misuterareta rakuen* (A Paradise Abandoned by Japan's Supreme Military Command: Tinian, Island of Mass Suicide and Atomic Bombs) by Masao Inoue, Sakurai Shoten, 2001).

Most of the atomic bomb survivors still suffer from psychological trauma, which they rarely mention. Some even exhibit intense emotional reactions on seeing a replica of atomic bomb. To stand on the runway from which the bomber took off must have felt like a scalpel opening the wound in their hearts. I personally admire the spirit of the three atomic survivors who dared to visit Tinian. At the same time, I believe that their act suggests important tasks Hiroshima and Nagasaki need to undertake.

## Unsolved Issues in the Year of 60th Anniversary

On the A-bomb memorial day in the year of the 60th anniversary, many citizens in Hiroshima share a sense of crisis. There are many unsolved issues here, but the following are the most important: (1) how to communicate the atomic bomb experience to the next generation, and (2) how to deal with the differences in memories and interpretations in some foreign nations regarding the atomic bombing. No immediate solution is obvious, but I would like to present my personal suggestions.

### < Communicating the Atomic Bomb Experience >

The aging of the atomic bomb survivors who can describe their own experiences has been regarded as the most urgent problem. However, the aging of witnesses is not peculiar to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Every historical event is subject to the passage of time. Therefore, the question is, who is responsible for conveying the historical experience of atomic bombing? Is it only survivors with direct experience? We have numerous accounts, recordings of testimony, paintings, films, and other materials on individual atomic bomb experience. However, most of this information is scattered and fragmented.

Furthermore, many questions regarding the atomic bombings have never been answered, and new facts are still being discovered. Many of the unsolved mysteries can be investigated only by mobilizing scientific techniques and academic expertise derived from medicine, physics, history, international relations, sociology, psychology, the humanities, and so on. Therefore, we need to concentrate more on finding better ways to solve outstanding issues related to the atomic bombings than on simply deploring the passage of time.

### < Different Interpretations >

Another important issue is the different views, memories, and interpretations of the atomic bombing that hold sway abroad and annoy the people of Hiroshima. One example is the majority view of the U.S., which claims that "the decision to drop the atomic bomb was right" and "the atomic bombs saved a million lives." Another example is the opinion, shared by Asian neighbors China, South Korea, and North Korea, that "the atomic bombs stopped Japan's military invasion and harsh colonial rule" and "Japan always emphasizes the atrocity of the atomic bombing without regretting its own inhumane behavior during the war." Many citizens in Hiroshima who have been engaged in peace activities are bewildered as to how to respond when foreign visitors express such opinions.

Finding solutions to this issue is not easy, but a simple "black or white" debate is meaningless. We have to start the debate from clear premises. Regarding the majority view in the U.S., we have to focus on such specific points as "Is indiscriminate mass killing of civilians compatible with international law and humanity?" "What was the real effect of the atomic bombings on Japan's decision to surrender?" and "What is the basis of the calculation that one million lives would have been lost on the ground war in mainland Japan?" Discussions should be carefully divided point by point and based on historical facts and rational arguments.

In response to the arguments of Asian neighbors, the Japanese need to review their own history of modernization and militarization after the Meiji Restoration, the military invasion in Asia, and the colonization of the Korean Peninsula, based on historical facts. Teaching at universities in Hiroshima, I find that many young students have learnt almost nothing — not false history — of the modern/contemporary Japan-East Asia relations and the historical background of the war between the U.S. and Japan.

Based on a thorough historical review, the people of Hiroshima should make it clear to their Asian neighbors that the purpose of telling the world about the A-bomb atrocities is in no way an attempt to justify Japan's inhumane acts of war but rather to prevent the reuse of nuclear weapons.

## How to Build a Shared Understanding

Why and to whom do we communicate our atomic bomb experience? We have to seek a common understanding, to be shared by a majority of world citizens, that the indiscriminate mass killing of civilians and radioactive damage inflicted by nuclear weapons are inhumane. Our stance should be based on humanity, beyond any particular nationality or nationalism. The memory of the atomic bomb experience should be clearly separated from any effort to justify Japan's military invasions and colonization. However, our duty is to reach out to overcome any misunderstanding or misinterpretation between citizens of Japan and other nations, especially if we regard ourselves as standing with humanity.

The attitude of the three atomic survivors who endured the opening of psychic wounds to visit Tinian this year, confront an historical reality, and seek dialogue with U.S. veterans should serve as a model. Following in their footsteps, we have to make greater efforts to overcome the wall of differences regarding the atomic bombing. This is our most vital mission for the sixty-first year and beyond.

Mizumoto is associate professor at HPI

# German Pacifism in the 1920s

By Makiko Takemoto

World War I broke out in 1914 after the Assassination at Sarajevo, becoming a massive war between the Central Powers (e.g. Germany, Austria-Hungary) and the Allies (e.g. Great Britain, France and Japan). It lasted for four years and killed more than nine million people, ending in 1918 with the defeat of the Central Powers. In November, sailors and workers revolted, causing the collapse of the German Empire. After that, the first German republic, the Weimar Republic, was born.

German pacifists were unable to prevent World War I, even though the German Peace Society had been active since 1892. During the War, the pacifists were unable to take any action because they were suppressed and their activities were forbidden. After the War, they launched their peace movement again. The terrible suffering they witnessed during the War and the fear that new chemical weapons would be used led pacifists to assume that the next war would be even more devastating. Widespread instability in Europe at the time was another factor leading to more active participation in the peace movement. Members discussed international law and such related issues as the disarmament process, war crimes and the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations.

Two factors, fear of the next war and establishment of the Weimar Republic, changed the character of German pacifism. The pacifists began to discuss the integration of peace into education and promote the notion of mutual understanding between different cultures. (They insisted that schoolbooks should be free of vengeful expressions.) It is important to note that the pacifists realized the need for a conscious reform of the German way of thinking. This became known as “die geistige Revolution.” To keep the Weimar Republic stable, it was thought, the people had to abandon the “vassal consciousness” cultivated in the era of German Empire, and they should actively contribute to peace as autonomous human beings. Peace organizations sought this change of consciousness in their programs. Before World War I, the issues of war and peace were an extension of politics and matters of the state. After the War, pacifists believed that the problem lay in the citizens of the Weimar Republic. It was not just a problem of the state.

The “right to live” became a central demand and the basis of pacifism in the programs of the peace organizations. The character of the peace organizations and the methods of the peace movement also changed at that time. In the era when the peace organizations were established, the peace

movement was supported by the intellectual community. In the Weimar Republic, it was supposed to be mass movement and all individuals were to have opportunities to play leading roles.

The words of Carl von Ossietzky demonstrate the character of German pacifism during this period. Ossietzky, Nobel Peace Prize laureate for the year 1935, was a famous journalist and pacifist, who opposed German militarism and Nazism. He insisted on creating an autonomous body of people that no state or party could order to kill or to be killed. He stated: “We defend the right to live. Of what good is honor to those who died in the World War, when allegedly this honor was to be protected? Of what use are monuments of unknown soldiers to the dead in war? First people must live, then their honor can be protected.” Ossietzky worked for the peace movement based on the “right to live.”

These words from Ossietzky are valid not only in the Weimar Republic, but also to this day. They teach us how senseless war is. But in those days, Ossietzky and other pacifists were not accepted in the Weimar Republic where nationalistic policies were deeply rooted. Many intellectuals understood and celebrated the war as the “father of everything” and expansionism was very popular, not only among the supporters of Hitler and Nazism, but also among leading politicians. Pacifists were a small minority in this society. They were regarded as “traitors” because of their endeavor to promote international understanding, especially between Germany and France. Many pacifists, including Ossietzky, were actually found guilty of “treason” or “espionage.” They were deprived of their freedom of speech and threatened with assassination. After Hitler’s assumption of power in 1933, they were sent into exile or killed in concentration camps.

Since the end of World War II, pacifism has been more widely accepted in Germany and Japan. Pacifists are no longer interrogated or punished for “treason,” but militarism and the war cult, which Ossietzky criticized, are still widespread. We, as “autonomous” human beings, must recognize this critically dangerous situation and listen to the voices of the Weimar pacifists. We must continue to warn that there is nothing heroic about war. It brings only fear, despair, destruction and death.

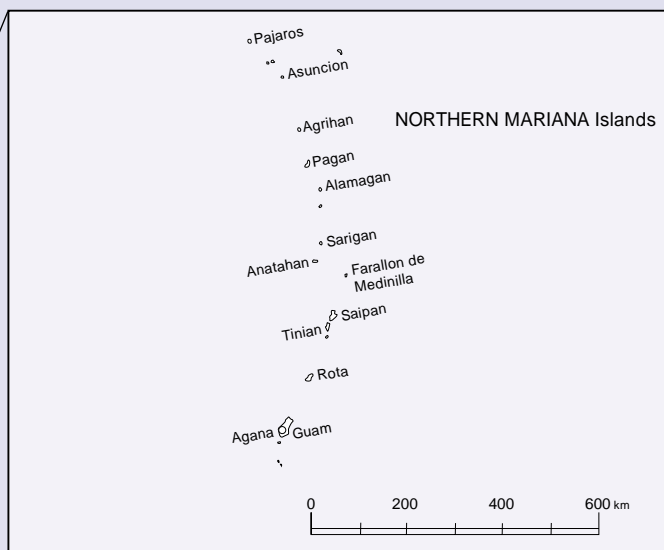
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## Flight Path of the Enola Gay

The distance from Tinian Island to Hiroshima is about 2,740 kilometers. It took the B-29 bomber six hours and thirty minutes one way.



Source: *The Spirit of Hiroshima*, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum



# Appraisal of the On-going Six-Party Talks: Contentious Issues

By Sung Chull Kim

The fourth round of the Six-Party Talks ended on September 19, 2005 with the adoption of the Joint Statement whereby North Korea agreed to dismantle its nuclear program and in return receive security guarantees from the United States. However, as soon as the North Korean delegates led by Vice Foreign Minister Kim Kye-kwan returned to Pyongyang, the Korean Central News Agency aired a Foreign Ministry statement that apparently undermined the Joint Statement. According to the Foreign Ministry's statement, North Korea would not dismantle its nuclear facilities before the United States provides a light water reactor. For North Korea, the light water reactor is physical evidence of confidence-building between the two countries. This new development involves many contentious issues, even in the event that North Korea commits itself to the Joint Statement.

I will briefly identify some of the related problems. First, time matters, meaning that the economic burden will soar as time passes. This is so because North Korea will try to continue the operation of nuclear reactors and extract weapons-grade plutonium until the dismantlement of all nuclear facilities. Second, North Korea intends to snowball its economic benefit, which will bring to bear a huge burden mostly to South Korea whether the latter volunteers it or not. Third, despite the requirement of several steps to implement the dismantlement of nuclear facilities, there exists the possibility of the emergence of differences between those who will bear the burden of the agreements and those who feel free from it. In this respect, the problem regarding North Korea's demand for a light water reactor is far more complicated than it appears.

From the above-mentioned points, we can draw a few principles that should be taken into account in the future rounds of the Six-Party Talks. First, the participants should identify an optimal cost by considering the speed of the goal achievement. Any disagreement on a procedural matter will extend the time to achieve the ultimate goal, simply raising the burden and allowing unexpected interruptions.

Second, the following Six-Party Talks should take the issue of how to stop progress toward plutonium-based nuclear weapons as the most urgent consideration. In 2003, North Korean news agencies repeatedly reported that North Korea was reprocessing spent fuel rods to extract plutonium at the graphite-moderated reactors. Then, Pyongyang laid claim to nuclear-weapon state status a week before the commemoration of Kim Jong-il's birthday in February 2005. In view of all the developments, it is probable that North Korea will try to continue to enhance its nuclear capability until the moment when an agreement is

actually implemented.

Third, a parsimonious approach to solve the issue of light water reactor should be linked to South Korea's ready-made offer of power generation assistance. Just before the opening of the fourth round of the Six-Party Talks at the end of July, Seoul already proposed electricity aid amounting to two million kilowatts to the North. In view of both the substantial economic cost and the political implications of the electricity aid, the South Korean government should consider connecting the two projects in order to prevent doubling the cost.

There remains one more point. The North Korean nuclear crisis may date back to a more fundamental, structural issue, that is, remnants of the Cold War from the Korean Peninsula. The Joint Statement on September 19, 2005, is the first historical declaration envisioning an end to the Cold War. This declaration was arranged by all relevant parties responsible for the situation. Therefore, we do not have to be pessimistic simply because of North Korea's demand for the light water reactor.

The Six-Party Talks should focus on the sequencing of the dismantlement of the nuclear weapons program, but if they make progress, it may facilitate a peace treaty discussion through a separate channel. The Korean War that caused three million deaths has never technically ended. The Armistice Agreement is the only mechanism preventing armed conflict between the two Koreas. The transformation of the Agreement into a peace treaty is another necessary condition for the removal of the sources of insecurity on the Korean Peninsula in particular, and in Northeast Asia in general. Considering the fact that the two Koreas, China, and the United States were belligerents in the Korean War, this transformation will require serious and extensive discussions between the four countries.

It is reported that at the 16th Inter-Korean Minister-Level Talks held in September, the two Koreas discussed how to build a peace regime on the Korean Peninsula, which practically means transformation of the Armistice Agreement to a peace treaty. On the one hand, if this issue had been discussed in the Six-Party Talks, as North Korea had insisted in the previous round, it would have plagued the negotiation process in the Talks, blurring the focal point of North Korea's nuclear weapons development. On the other hand, the discussion of a peace treaty is necessary in the sense that the treaty is a fundamental condition for bringing an end to the Cold War on the peninsula.

*Kim is associate professor at HPI*

## HPI Forum

June 4, 2005

### Title: Thoughts on How to Revitalize Popular Peace Movements: What the Citizens of Hiroshima Need to Do

Speaker: Mr. Makoto Oda (Writer, Critic and Peace Activist)



On June 4, 2005, a well-known writer, critic, and peace activist, Makoto Oda, gave a stimulating speech on how the citizens of Hiroshima should promote anti-nuclear and peace movements in the face of the current phenomenon: the "oblivion to the Hiroshima memory."

In his speech Oda presented his ideas about

peace and war, including the nuclear weapons issue, which are profoundly affected by his own childhood experience of the aerial bombing of Japanese cities conducted by U.S. forces in the last stage of the Asia-Pacific War.

The indiscriminate bombing of Japanese cities escalated rapidly after the infamous Tokyo fire bombing on March 10, 1945. Other major cities such as Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobe also became the targets of so-called carpet-bombing: bombing from low altitude with a massive number of napalm bombs. On March 13, in its first aerial bombing, Osaka was showered with 70,000 incendiary bombs resulting in the death of 3,000 civilians. By the end of the war almost 400 cities, towns and villages throughout Japan had been attacked by U.S. bombers. Osaka was bombed eight times altogether, and Oda thrice encountered and survived such aerial bombing in Osaka.

It is widely believed that the U.S. aerial bombing of Japan concluded

with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which brought about Japan's surrender. In actual fact, the cities of Kumamoto, Oita and Miyazaki were bombed on August 10, the day after the bombing of Nagasaki, and on August 12, Kurume City was targeted. Osaka, however, was the target of the last U.S. bombing in World War II, which occurred on August 14, the day before Japan's official surrender. On this occasion, 700 tons of bombs (in the form of large one-ton bombs) were dropped on the complex of army arsenals built within the walls of Osaka Castle, resulting in their complete destruction. Oda, whose house was located near the site, survived this fierce bombing, and learnt the following day that the war had finally ended.

Oda spoke of his discovery that the reason for the terrible end to World War II lay in a political decision. After the war, he had tried hard to find out why Japan did not accept the Potsdam Declaration immediately after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and why it was several days after their total destruction before the Japanese government finally surrendered. While in the U.S. in 1959, Oda retrieved copies of the wartime *New York Times* and carefully studied reports on the process of the Japanese surrender. By combining the information thus obtained with the relevant Japanese historical background, he discovered that the Japanese government had continued to refuse unconditional surrender, even after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, until U.S. government authorities guaranteed the life of Emperor

Hirohito.

Oda showed this was how he came to believe that the atomic bomb had been viewed, both by military leaders and by Japanese and U.S. politicians, not as an extraordinary and decisive weapon, but simply as a more powerful conventional weapon. He further argued that many militarists and politicians still hold with this interpretation of nuclear weapons, and that, with the availability of various "weapons of mass destruction," the distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons is rapidly eroding. Therefore, he suggested, it will be extremely difficult to achieve the abolition of nuclear weapons through anti-nuclear movements alone. He rightly highlighted the need for a new approach to the construction of peace and suggested widening grass-roots civil movements against all types of arms including nuclear weapons.

In concluding his speech, he remarked that war is an act of sheer madness, and its absurd result was clearly shown in World War II: while Japan adopted kamikaze-style suicidal attacks, the U.S. used atomic bombs to indiscriminately kill a large number of civilians. His speech was not simply a reflection of historical events but was highly relevant to the present world situation.

*By Yuki Tanaka, professor at HPI*

## D I A R Y (1)

July 1 - October 31, 2005

**July 2** Kazumi Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Current State and Tasks of Peace Research" at training session for Level II registered nursing care managers organized by Hiroshima Prefectural Nursing Association.

**July 4** Hiroko Takahashi gives lecture on "Nuclear Tests in the Marshall Islands" for students from DePaul University (Chicago) at Hiroshima International Conference Center.

**July 4-17** Christian Scherrer visits Bosnia on 10th Srebrenica commemoration, meets NGOs/INGOs (U.N., OSCE, WCC).

**July 6** Scherrer interviews Tokaca, Reserch-Documentation Center, Sarajevo. Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Current State and Task of the NPT Regime and the Role of Hiroshima" at Workshop on NPT Issues organized by and held at Hiroshima Bar Association.

**July 9** Takahashi serves as commentator for Special Lecture "Fifty Year Anniversary of 'Russell Einstein Manifesto' and Nuclear Issue" organized by Peace Society for the Lucky Dragon at Gakushi Kaikan in Tokyo.

**July 13** Scherrer speaks on "Transitional Justice in Bosnia" at conference "Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies," Konjic.

**July 17** Mizumoto gives lecture on "History, Current State, and Task of Peace Education in Hiroshima" at public workshop "Making Use of Hiroshima's Experience in International Cooperation" organized by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Chugoku International Center at Hiroshima International Center.

**July 23** Mizumoto attends as committee member 2nd conference of core members of Hiroshima International Peace Forum, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture at HPI.

**July 23-27** Mizumoto participates in "55th Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs: 60 Years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki." Mizumoto gives presentation on "The Role of Hiroshima in the 21st Century" in Working Group 1 (Legacy of the Russell / Einstein Manifesto and the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons).

**July 27-28** HPI holds lectures in commemoration of 60th anniversary of atomic bombing. Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy, Quaid-e-Azam University, Pakistan, gives lecture on "What Will It Take to Stop Nuclear Proliferation?" on 27th; Professor Carol Gluck, Columbia University, U.S., gives lecture on "Remembering the Future: Hiroshima and the World" on 28th, Hiroshima City Plaza for Town Development through Citizen Exchange.

**July 29** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Hiroshima and Peace" for training program for journalists organized by Hiroshima City at Hiroshima International Conference Center.

**July 30** HPI holds international symposium, "Hiroshima and the Peace Constitution: Building on Our Past" at Hiroshima International Conference Center.

**Aug. 2** HPI President Motofumi Asai makes remarks at plenary session of World Conference Against A&H Bombs organized by Japan Council against A&H Bombs (GENSUIKYO) at Welcity Hiroshima.

**Aug. 3** Asai serves as panelist for International Symposium for Peace "Aiming at a Nuclear-Free World—Japan's Role in Northeast Asia" organized by Asahi Shimbun Company at Hiroshima International Conference Center.

**Aug. 4** Asai serves as chief judge of review panel for presentation contest "High School Students Fostering World Peace" organized by Hiroshima Board of Education at Hiroshima Prefectural Culture Center. Mizumoto serves as trainer for Section Meeting 1 "Working Group 1 on 'World Peace'" of "The 51st National Convention of High School UNESCO Clubs" organized by National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan and gives lecture on "The Current Situation of Nuclear Weapons in the World" at Etajima City, Hiroshima.

**Aug. 5** Yuki Tanaka gives lecture on "Fire Bombing and Atomic Bombing" for American students of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Research Trip organized by Ritsumeikan University and American University at HPI. Takahashi makes presentation on "The Nuclear Suffering Ignored by U.S. and Japanese Governments" at Gensuikin Hiroshima International Conference, Toho 2001 Hiroshima.

**Aug. 5-6** Asai serves as chair for Section Meeting 2 of 6th Mayors for Peace at Hiroshima International Conference Center.

**Aug. 6** Asai serves as commentator for Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) radio program "Peace Memorial Ceremony," live broadcast of Peace Memorial Ceremony in Hiroshima.

**Aug. 20** Mizumoto gives lecture on "The Current Situation of Nuclear Weapons in the World and Perceptions for Atomic Bombing" at 4th session of Peace Club for Junior High and High School Students at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Mizumoto gives lecture on "From Praying for Peace to Creating Peace" in second regular meeting in August, organized by Hiroshima Junior Chamber at Rihga Royal Hotel Hiroshima.

**Aug. 23-Sep. 14** Scherrer conducts field research in Rwanda on start-up of Gacaca genocide courts in four provinces; interviews officials, survivors, NGO.

**Aug. 24** Asai serves as coordinator for 60th Anniversary of Ukishima-maru Accident East Asia International Peace Symposium, organized by Memorial Association of Victims of Ukishima-maru at MAIZURU Commerce Industry & Tourism Center.

**Aug. 25** Scherrer speaks to Chief Prosecutor Mucyo, initiating research.

**Sep. 4-13** Mizumoto visits Phnom Penh and Siem Reap in Cambodia for ex-ante adjustment of Reconstruction Support Project in Cambodia, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture.

**Sep. 6-8** Tanaka gives advice for analysis of Japan-related documents and conducts documentary research at Research Centre, Australian War Memorial.

**Sep. 8-9** Sung Chull Kim presents paper entitled "Domestic Constraints on Regional Cooperation in Northeast Asia" at the conference "Infrastructure of Regional Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Current Status and Tasks," sponsored by Korea Institute for National Unification, Seoul, South Korea.

**Sep. 10** Scherrer interviews Rwandan Foreign Minister Murigande.

**Sep. 11** Scherrer contradicts DesForges (Human Rights Watch) at Gacaca against Belgian priest Theunis.

**Sep. 12** Scherrer interviews Busingye, Minijust; Renaud, Chief of Investigation, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

**Sep. 13** Scherrer speaks to Chief Prosecutor Mucyo, concluding research.

**Sep. 14** Tanaka gives lecture on "Terror from the Sky: A History of Indiscriminate Bombing" for American students attending Meiji Gakuin University at Hiroshima Aster Plaza.

**Sep. 22** Narayanan Ganesan presents paper entitled "The Role of ASEAN in Singapore's Foreign Policy" at the conference "Cooperation within ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Sub-region," Traders Hotel, Yangon, Myanmar.

**Sep. 26** Tanaka gives lecture on "How Should We Approach the Problem of Nuclear Arms?: Can We Abolish Nuclear Arms Simply through the Efforts of Anti-nuclear Movements?" in HPI lecture series for citizens of Hiroshima.



## Hello from HPI



**Makiko Takemoto** Research Associate

Makiko Takemoto was born in Ibaraki Prefecture in 1971. She studied in the Graduate School of the Humanities, Senshu University and at Carl von Ossietzky University, Oldenburg (Germany). From July 2003 to June 2005 she served as research associate in the Center for Historical Studies/Institute for Development of Socio-Intelligence, Senshu University. She joined the Hiroshima Peace Institute in July 2005.

She specializes in modern and contemporary German history, German political culture in the 20th century, German pacifism and the peace movement.

Takemoto states: "It is a great honor to join the Hiroshima Peace Institute, and I am very glad to be here. I will do my best to contribute to peace studies in Hiroshima. Until now my research has concentrated on the pacifism that appears in German journalism from the 1920s to the 1930s and in the organized peace movement of that time. Hereafter I would like to compare German history with Japanese history and clarify the implications for peace. I would also like to extend my research on the peace movement from 1945 to today and consider the meaning of 'Hiroshima' in the world peace movement in the 20th century."



**Mikyoung Kim** Assistant Professor

Dr. Mikyoung Kim was born in Pusan, South Korea. She began her work at the Hiroshima Peace Institute in October 2005 after having taught at Portland State University, U.S., as a Fulbright Visiting Professor. She earned a Ph.D. in Sociology specializing in women's studies, international migration, and human rights. At HPI, she hopes to continue her research on North Korean women refugees. She would also like to study

Japanese military transformation in the rapidly changing political landscape of Northeast Asia.

Kim notes: "I am very fortunate to be in Japan now as the country is going through a crucial transition. The city of Hiroshima is a poignant reminder that the world should tirelessly pursue peace by not forgetting the brutality of violence. Japan, as a responsible country, and Hiroshima, with its special collective memory, have a unique place in our concerted efforts to hand over a better place to live for future generations. On a personal note, I always wanted to live in a place where river, ocean and mountains create a beautiful harmony. In Hiroshima, fertile rivers meet the vast ocean as the blue sky envelops the gorgeous mountains. The views from the streetcar tell me that I am in the place I was looking for."

## DIARY (2)

July 1 - October 31, 2005

**Oct. 1** Asai serves as panelist in the symposium "Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution—My Opinion," organized by Hiroshima Bar Association at Hiroshima YMCA International Culture Hall.

**Oct. 3** At meeting of HPI lecture series for citizens of Hiroshima, Koji Hosokawa, volunteer guide of Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (member of Hiroshima World Peace Mission), gives lecture on "How to Convey the Atomic Bombing Experience."

**Oct. 6** HPI holds research forum. Dr. Sigrid Pöllinger, director, Center for Peace Research, Vienna University, gives lecture on "The History of War and Peace in Europe."

**Oct. 7** Ganesan presents paper entitled "Transparent Governance and Ethical Behavior for Public Officials" to the Vietnamese civil service, Hanoi, Vietnam.

**Oct. 8** Yoshiaki Sato gives lecture on "Common-Lawyer Approach to International Law" at Semi-Annual Meeting of Japanese Society of International Law at Hokkaido University.

**Oct. 15** Asai gives lecture on "Roles of Education in Japanese Conservatism's 21st Century Strategies" at Fukuyama Education Research Meeting organized by Fukuyama Branch of All Hiroshima Teachers and Staff Union at Fukuyama City Jutoku Elementary School.

**Oct. 17** At meeting of HPI lecture series for citizens of Hiroshima, Nanao Kamada, Director of Hiroshima A-bomb Survivors Relief Foundation, gives lecture on "Late Effects of A-bomb Radiation on the Human Body."

**Oct. 18** Mizumoto attends as committee member 3rd conference of core members of Hiroshima International Peace Forum, organized by Hiroshima Prefecture (in Hiroshima City).

**Oct. 21** Mizumoto and Takahashi attend annual meeting of research group on reference materials at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum.

**Oct. 22** Asai serves as panelist for the symposium "Path toward Peace — Getting Out of the Fear of War and Nuclear Weapons: What Should be the Role of Japan?" at 16th Physicians Forum against Nuclear War and for the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, organized by Physicians against Nuclear War at Chukyo University in Aichi Prefecture.

**Oct. 24** At meeting of HPI lecture series for citizens of Hiroshima, Yoshiro Matsui, Professor of International Law, Ritsumeikan University Graduate School of Law, gives lecture on "Legal Problems of the Use of Nuclear Weapons under International Law."

**Oct. 26-28** Second workshop of HPI Research Project "Myanmar Peace Initiative" is held.

**Oct. 30** Asai serves as commentator at "The 60th Anniversary of the Atomic Bombings and End of World War II: Peaceful World" organized by Aichi Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs at Nagoya Civic Assembly Hall.

**Oct. 31** Takahashi gives lecture on "Concealed Hibakusha: Nuclear Victims Spreading Worldwide" in HPI lecture series for citizens of Hiroshima.

### —Visitors—

**July 5** Dr. Burton G. Bennett, former chairman, and Dr. Toshiteru Okubo, chairman of Radiation Effects Research Center.

**Aug. 1-10** Elena Komleva, visiting research associate, Institute of Advanced Studies, United Nations University.

**Aug. 3** Di Piazza Pierluigi, director, Ernesto Balducci Onlus, and 5 other members of Italian Peace Mission. Tadafumi Yamada, administrative director, Hiroshima Asian Friendship Academy.

**Sep. 13** Hisao Mitsuyu, professor, College of International Relations, Nihon University and 18 students.

**Oct. 4** Tadayuki Kusunoki, vice chairman, and Nobuo Takahashi, director-general of Round Table Conference for Preservation of Remains of A-bombed Sites.

**Oct. 12** Dr. Murat M. Auezov, director-general, National Library of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

**Oct. 19** Dr. Monica Braw, journalist, Sweden.

**Oct. 21** Agha Masood Hussain, journalist, Pakistan.

### Additional DIARY entry for 22nd Newsletter

**May 25** Mizumoto gives lecture on "Task of Hiroshima: From Peace Movement to Peace Building" at 9th Conference on National Development Strategy "Democracy, Human Rights, Peace in Gwangju and Hiroshima" organized by Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Honam University, Korea.

#### Correction

An article "HPI Research Project 'The Real State of the Hibakusha Exposed by the 1954 Bikini Nuclear Test'" in the 22nd issue of HPI Newsletter misrepresented the explanation of a map in the fourth paragraph. The map that appears on the left of the page rather than the one on the right was produced by the U.S. government.

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